1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qain.

YAFA'IS.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation.

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances.

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Āl Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Āl Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati).

TRIBESMEN.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces.

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Subsection, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate.

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

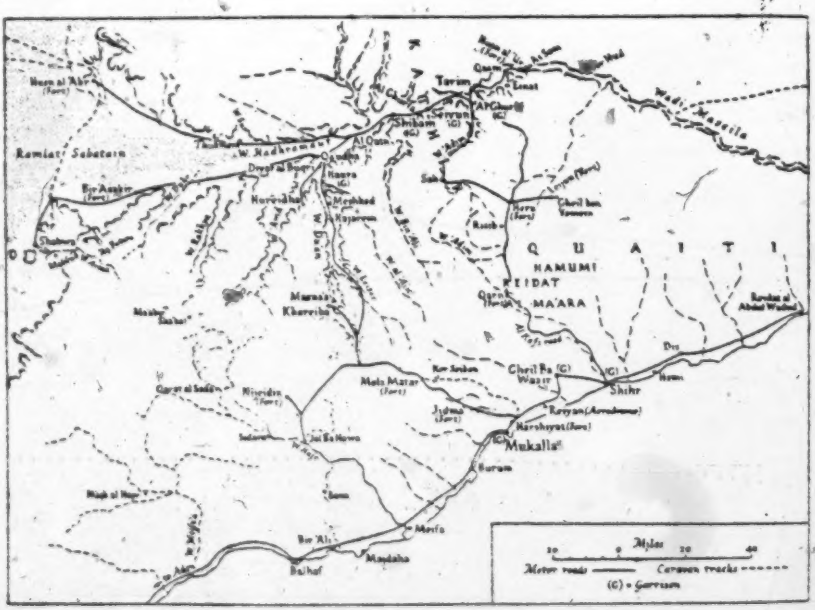
Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2*

serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.



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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut.

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba.

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa"s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes.

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau.

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another.

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable.

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each.

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

known as al-Saḥīl, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ (Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Saniyah[6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjir who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḥalīf who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥīl quarter.

Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls[7] and the carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials, op. cit.*, p. 296. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرة which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Miskīn class.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or mašā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal sarḥah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarīm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ‖ — | — — — ∪ | — — — ∪

لَنَا ٱلنزَّايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Radjaz type, ‖ — | — ∪ — — | — ∪ — ∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلمِخضَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all; Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarīmī saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.*

[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

539
533
●621
792

b. Metre : Ramal type, ||—|——∪—|——∪—

شَيْخَنَا ٱلْمِخْضَار يَطْفِى ٱلنَّار

« Our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār puts out the fire. »

This is a radjaz or zāmil known as radjaz ḫābbah, or « jingle used by a party of men at the trot ». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basīṭ type,

||—|—∪—|—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

وَٱلشَّيْخ وَٱللهْ عُمَرْ يَا سَعْد مِنْ كَان شَيْخَهْ

« By the Šaiḫ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḫ he is »

This radjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Banī Mighrāh [10],

||——∪|———∪|——∪|———∪

عُمَرْ مِخضَار فِى كُلِّ حِجَّهْ نَهْتَرِى بَهْ

وَرَاسَ ٱلْخَصْم لِى قَدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْن جِيَهْ

« 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, in every matter we shout for assistence to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring [11]. »

[113
224]

[10] I have named this metre Banī Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Banī Mighrāh poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥaḍramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramaut.*

[11] اهترى LANDBERG, *Glose Dat.*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crieiller ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For عصب he gave the synonym اراد. One can say عصبنا السيله equivalent to نبينا السيله « We want to go to the Masīlah ». In the « oath of denial » *infra*, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » بين جيه is equivalent to بنينا نحيه.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

b. Metre :

Perhaps ‖— — ∪ | — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — فَاعِلْ مُسْتَفْعِلْ فَعُولْ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا ٱلصَّيْد فِي رُبُوعَهْ [13]

شَيْخَنَا عَلِيّ بِنْ مُحَمَّدْ ،

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides). Our šaiḫ is 'Alī bin Miḥimmid. »

This tanṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex [14]. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away. Šaiḫ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḥaṭīb family, known as Ṣāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šaiḫ 'Alī is the patron saint of al-Ḥilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furaiṭ [15]. The chief mosque of the quarter is Misdjid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'ī rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Misdjid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this tanṣūrah would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Ḥārat al-Saḥīl

The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about their tanṣūrahs. They shout

[13] Variant شُعُوبَهْ.

[14] Cf. A. Bertron, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

[15] For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, *op. cit.*

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Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ

539
621
533

4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin ʿAlī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16]. [792]

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah šaiḥanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt. [792]

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt. [628]

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the ʿAbīd of Tarīm. The ʿAbīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَهْ

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بِهْ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the ʿAbīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstacy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the ʿAṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb! 551

17 C. DE LANDBERG, *Ḥaḍra[illegible]t* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. laud.

22: Reilly G-8 (1938-41) 1941 MM? Hadhramaut MM?
MIDDLE EAST ISLANDS (12)
Socotra.

Socotra has also a good breed of small, straight backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the [illegible], Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and [illegible] island receives little attention and has few European visitors. [illegible]'s official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

doctor, for whom Friday is a holiday. The car which follows is filled with armed Bedouins, members of the tribes through whose land we shall pass. The district of Terīm ends just outside the city. Mud defence turrets and fortifications are pointed out to us, where, up to a year ago, shooting still went on. The aspect of the villages and neglected plantations shows that prosperity has been here disturbed by warfare. Some of these villages are under the rule of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, others are independent, that is to say, they belong to the tribes in whose territories they are situated and are not under a *dōla* (a government), as the expression goes here.

The road runs over a sandy plain to the deep Wādī ᶜAdim, which seems to be fairly well watered, to judge from the thick vegetation along its banks and from its fine groves of palms. Here lies the village of el-Mesīle, the birth-place of our learned Javanese Ḥaḍramī, Sayyid Hāshim. The village chief had received instructions from Sayyid Abū Bakr to provide a midday meal for us, so he stands ready waiting with his pots and the sheep which is to be killed. We stop just long enough to pick him up with his sheep and cooking-pots and then on we go again through a hilly, sandy region with here and there villages and plantations. The further we go the poorer become the villages; the gardens are partly dried up and half of the houses are in ruins. The male population has been decimated by intertribal warfare, and now poverty and starvation are killing the rest.

The drivers have difficulty in finding a practicable track between the sand-hills. At last we reach Ruḍēḥ, the village of Sayyid el-ᶜĒderūs, where donkeys are waiting for us. The drivers are of the opinion that the cars can go on still further if we will all help by pushing from time to time. We are again obliged to go through the sandy bed of the *sēl*. Great exertion is necessary to get the cars through the loose sand, but after that it is good going over loam plains and through wādīs. Sometimes a descent or ascent has to be dug, but we are prepared for that: pickaxes and spades have been brought.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

621 We had not received favourable reports of Wādī ʿAmd. The el-Aṭṭās family, nevertheless, maintained the contrary; it is their wādī and the Djaʿdī Bedouins who inhabit it are allied with them and are, in a certain sense, under their control, but it is hard to discover how far this control goes. We got the impression that the wādī was very much armed and ready for war. The landscape is barren and, at first, monotonous; the *sēl*-bed is broad and filled with bluish-white, small boulders. Conditions must have been much better in the old days, for the numerous ruins suggest a dense population.

361 231 243 It is long after sunset before we reach Nukhr, where the el-ʿAṭṭās family own a house. The place consists of a few huts and a half tumble-down mud house, in which a room has been prepared for us. It is too warm to spend the night indoors, but the staircase leading to the roof has collapsed. In the middle of the hamlet there is a storehouse for fodder, half below and half above the ground. Its roof is about three feet above the ground and has a parapet about one and a half feet high. The basin thus formed is smoothly plastered with mud, and the grain is thrashed in it after harvesting. It makes a hard but safe sleeping place.

172 312 241 On the following day, June 10th, we set off again south-westwards. At first the wādī is very monotonous and barren and the *sēl*-bed widens considerably. After two hours' riding Wādī ʿAmd makes a bend towards the south and then very soon one comes across date plantations. There are an increasing number of ruins of what, presumably, were defence works, situated on hill-tops. The palm plantations have suffered much from the drought in recent years, as for two years there was neither rain nor *sēl* of any considerable quantity. The subsoil water is far from the surface and wells are 300 to 450 feet in depth so that they are not used for purposes of irrigation but only for supplying drinking-water. Groups of men hoist up the water, singing monotonously the while.

241 312 Further southwards the plantations increase and form an unbroken girdle between the broad, wild *sēl*-bed and the wes-

CHAPTER XVII.

WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

7: Gt. Brit. / Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
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missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

Beduin Affairs

Wahidi Area. As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding.

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula :

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār).

2. Ahl al-Ḥilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَهْ وَغُدْوَهْ مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَهْ كُلَّهَا.
عِيُوهْ ! وَوْ ! مسَهْ !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

[12] The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

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an alien aristocracy imported by the senior confederate states, or is the scion of some ancient ruling race. Intertribal jealousy, feuds, and a fierce spirit of independence have prevented any revival of autocratic government; for patriarchal rule tolerates very little prerogative, and only such influence as personality, prowess, or wealth can command. Even a ruling sultan may be promptly deposed by the tribe he misgoverns, and he can never rely on direct succession if opposed to the tribal will: though his dynasty may brook all but a general upheaval, an heir is often passed over for a more suitable relative by the nominating chiefs; and the same rule applies right down the tribal scale to the sheikh of the smallest clan.

The largest unit for administrative purposes is the 'confederation' of several subordinate tribes with a larger one, whose Sultan is sufficiently powerful to impose and maintain a sort of suzerainty over the semi-detached tribeships around him, in addition to the tribe under his direct control. The various tribes composing a confederation rank according to their origin and fighting-strength; for the tribal notion is that gain is no good without the grit which alone can preserve it. Each tribe (or leading subdivision) manages its own affairs under the rule of an ''Āqil' (wise man) who is always a member of one of the senior clans (into which the tribe is again subdivided), but not necessarily the oldest representative of his house. Here again succession may be set aside, or an 'Āqil deposed in favour of a cadet, by the will of the tribe. The tribe is again divided into 'Afkhādh' (sing. Fakhdh), or clans; each of these is under its own sub-'āqil, and its internal affairs may not be interfered with by the tribal 'Āqil. A clan is composed of a number of families or households under a Sheikh, sometimes large enough to form an entire settlement, which is technically known as a *beit* (habitation) or, if strongly fortified, as a *dār* (fortress). The Sheikh has no voice in the management of individual family affairs, provided the head of a family does not jeopardize the interests and peace of the clan. The head of a family (usually also called Sheikh, by courtesy) leaves household matters to his women-folk.

The tribesmen defer far more to their 'Āqils, or senior chiefs, than to their actual Sultan (if they happen to acknowledge one), who, as has been said before, is rarely, if ever, of tribal blood, and has more often than not been thrust into power during some crisis of tribal politics. His (the Sultan's) influence is directly in relation to his wealth—in proportion, in fact, to the magnificence of his establishment, his hospitality, and the military support his wealth can procure; but in time of public danger, against an alien foe, all tribesmen would flock to the standard of their nominal

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loopholed for musketry, and, if stubbornly held, an attack without artillery would prove costly. They are generally square in shape and are sometimes so built as to provide flanking fire on the door; and they are usually two or three stories in height with a flat roof protected by a parapet. The villages are not surrounded by walls, but the erection of *sangars* would quickly convert them into positions very difficult for infantry to capture unsupported by artillery. Villages in the plains are occasionally strengthened by a mud wall. The coast towns of Makalla and Shiheir are fortified, chiefly against attacks by Bedouins from the land side, and are quite open to artillery fire from the sea.

(*a*) Confederations within the limits of the Aden Protectorate are described in the following order. *Littoral*: Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, and 'Aqrabi; *Interior*: Haushabi, Dhāmbari, Amīri, and 'Alawi.

i. *Subeihi*. This tribe occupies an extensive littoral tract in the south-west corner of Arabia. Although covering a large area, their territory is but sparsely inhabited and consists mainly of sandy wastes with an occasional well and a little cultivation here and there. The Subeihi are consequently nomadic: they have no Sultan nor head Sheikh, and are divided into a large number of petty clans, among which may be mentioned the Mansūri and Rujei. The clans have very little cohesion, and blood-feuds frequently occur between them: of all the tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden the Subeihi approach nearest to the typical Bedouin character. The Sultan of the 'Abdāli sometimes exercises a certain amount of influence on the clans of the eastern section of the Subeihi, and those in proximity to the Yemen border come under Turkish influence. Many members of the tribe earn a livelihood as *muqaddams*, or leaders of caravans which pass from other districts through the Subeihi country *en route* for Aden.

The population is estimated at 19,500. Though they are mainly pastoral and nomadic, they are reputed to be able to muster a large number of fighting men, expert raiders but unsteady in battle. The people as a whole are treacherous and untrustworthy and much given to interference with caravans passing through their territory. When the Turks advanced against Aden, the Subeihi lost no time in joining them and took part in the attack on Lahej in July 1915.

Their settlements are few; **Rija**, a small fortified village, 20 miles west of Lahej, is the centre of the Rujei.

ii. *'Abdāli*. This tribe occupies the country immediately around and behind Aden, its boundary extending about 35 miles inland

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619 to the territory of the Haushabi and having the Subeihi on the west and the Fadhli on the east. The chief of the tribe is the
•621 Sultan of Lahej, who, normally, possesses great influence in the interior and exercises sovereignty over certain sections of the Subeihi. He receives a yearly subsidy of Rs. 12,984 from the British Government for its occupation of the town of Sheikh 'Othmān.

The estimated population is 14,500, including about 2,000 men of doubtful fighting value. The people are agricultural rather than warlike, and, occupying one of the most fertile tracts of southern Arabia, are by far the wealthiest of the tribes bordering on Aden. They and the Fadhli breed camels that are noted for their fleetness and carrying powers. They possess more settled habitations than most of their neighbours of the littoral.

361 The chief towns and settlements of the 'Abdāli district are:

498 1. **Lahej,** 21 miles from Aden, with a population estimated variously at from 10,000 to 15,000, is a town with narrow irregular streets, nearly all the houses being surrounded by zaribas into which the cattle are driven at night. The most notable feature of the town is the market, Lahej being the most important commercial centre, outside Aden, of the whole district. The town forms an advanced market for fabrics and manufactured articles from Aden, and, in return, supplies Aden with fodder, vegetables, and firewood. Transit dues are levied here on the Yemen trade, the chief articles being coffee and *kat*. There is an important community of native blacksmiths and craftsmen in metal-work, who turn out daggers, sword-blades, spear-heads, matchlocks, and domestic hardware and utensils, of rough workmanship, especially the decorative work in silver. The bazaars are covered in and one is set apart for the workers in metals. The town stands amid date plantations and groves of lime, orange, banana, and coco-nut palms, which extend for miles, and in consequence the climate is particularly damp and malarial. The water is very bad.

The palace of the Sultan, on the southern edge of the town, is the most imposing building on the littoral belt. It is of mixed architecture, from Italian stucco to Arab, built partly of sun-dried brick and partly of cement and stone masonry, and it is constantly being added to. It overlooks a large open square where the Sultan reviews his troops and has a saluting battery holding two guns of Crimean pattern.

2. **Dār el-Amīr,** situated a little to the north of Sheikh 'Othmān, is the 'Abdāli customs post for the Aden traffic.

619 iii. *Fadhli*. A large tribe, of warlike and independent character,
621 inhabiting the sea-board from the British frontier post at 'Imād to

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Maqātīn, and extending inland to the maritime ranges. The population is estimated at under 20,000, with a high proportion of fighting men, who are probably well armed owing to their large sea-board and resources. The people are agricultural as well as pastoral, their territory including the extensive tract of fertile land known as the Abiyān; they are noted for breeding swift camels of good carrying capabilities. Relations between the Fadhli and Yāfa' are often strained, as the latter sometimes cut off the water-supply of the Bana River, while, on their side, the Fadhli have established customs posts and levy dues on Yāfa' caravans.

The ruling Sultan, Husein ibn Hamīd, an old man of 90, visited Aden late in 1915; in January 1916 he was summoned to Lahej by 'Ali Sa'īd Pasha, given a guard of honour and salute of guns, and promised a bribe if he would support the Turks. But the attitude of this Sultan, apart from Turkish pressure, has been Anglophile.

The chief towns and settlements of the Sultanate of Fadhli are:

1. **Shūghrah** (Shuqrah), the capital and the principal port between Aden and Makalla, is situated about 100 miles north-east of Aden, and occupies an important position on the convergence of several caravan routes from north and east, which enables it to collect considerable transit dues, and, if the Sultan so desires, to hamper trade generally. The town is divided into two parts, the palace and other chief buildings being in the easterly portion, which lies about half a mile from the fishing and commercial quarter. It has a large fishing industry and constitutes a focus of trade between Aden and the Upper Yāfa' and 'Aulaqi districts. The population is about 5,000. There is a small harbour, with a depth of from 1 to 2½ fathoms, formed by a break in the reef which fronts the shore at about five cables' distance; outside the reef is good anchorage in 7 to 9 fathoms. The exports are chiefly ambergris, coffee, *jowari*, and *ghi*. The Wādi Mathwan finds an outlet to the sea just east of the town, and, though it is generally dry, flood-water sometimes comes down at very short notice. Jowari is cultivated in considerable quantities, and there is a large date-grove not far from the town. On the left bank of the wādi are salt-works. The Sultan of Fadhli has a country residence at *Suriyah*, about 20 miles east and 4 miles inland.

2. **Maqātīn** (es-Saghīr, a little distance inland; and el-Kebīr, on the coast) is composed mainly of ruins. There is now no permanent settlement there, but only a shrine with a small cemetery and a ruined tower. The site marks the eastern limit of the Fadhli tribe. Fisher folk, who use the place as a base for their

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361 operations at certain seasons of the year, have constructed a few crude shelters.

3. **Nā'ib** (Naab) is a considerable collection of settlements, comprising Old and New Nā'ib, Suwat, Nujat, and other villages. They are situated in a highly cultivated plain irrigated by a system of water-channels from a more or less permanent stream in the fertile Wādi Yerāmis, a tributary of Wādi Hasan. Old Nā'ib, on the left side of the wādi, has a mosque with a conspicuous minaret. New Nā'ib, on the right bank, sometimes known as Raudhah, stands on a low plateau of earth cliffs; it is an important centre of traffic, and has several shops, a fine old house falling into ruin, and a custom-house for the collection of dues on merchandise passing to and from the Yāfa' country. The immediate approach to the village is by a roundabout way through narrow gullies.

619 iv. *'Aqrabi*, a small, peaceably disposed tribe occupying the coastal district north-west of Aden Lagoon. Their territory, poor
•621 for cultivation, is separated by a desert tract from that of the 'Abdāli, under whose influence they are. It is impossible to give an estimate of their population, but, though they are mainly pastoral, they are considered capable of furnishing some 250 fighting men. The district contains no town of any importance. **Bir Ahmed**, the tribal capital, is situated about one mile west of Wādi Kebīr and due west of Sheikh 'Othmān, and the tall tower of the Sultan's residence can be plainly seen from Aden harbour. During the recent operations it would appear that pressure from their powerful northern neighbours, the Subeihi, and from the Turks, forced the 'Aqrabi temporarily to side with the latter.

v. *Haushabi*. This is a powerful tribe whose territory extends from near the Anglo-Turkish frontier to Nūbat Dakīm and the 'Abdāli territory. They are, generally, peaceably disposed, and, although of late years they have done a good deal of fighting with their neighbours, they do not come under the heading of warlike tribes. They control the Tiban valley and consequently the waters of the Lahej oasis, and have on several occasions, in time of war, been known to divert the course of the water: but relations between the Haushabi and the 'Abdāli have been for the most part friendly. The population is estimated at from 6,000 to 7,000 (including 1,800 fighting men); they are mostly nomads, but a few are engaged in agriculture and camel-driving.

The tribe is under the nominal rule of a Sultan, who claims, also, suzerainty over the *Dhāmbari*, a troublesome hill tribe on the east, who are given to raiding, and admit his control only when it suits them. The Haushabi Sultan threw in his lot with the Turks, when

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they appeared in 1915, and accompanied them in their attack on Aden.

The towns and villages of the Haushabi country are small and badly built, each consisting of one or two towers and a cluster of stone hovels. The following are the chief settlements :

1. **Musemir** (Mus'aimīr), the capital, about 60 miles north by west of Aden and 12 miles from the Yemen border, lies on a small plateau overlooking the left bank of the Wādi Tiban, and is a centre of important caravan tracks. The residence of the Sultan is a large tower of stone and mud, some 75 ft. square and 40 ft. high. With the exception of one other tower, the only other habitations are a cluster of reed huts where his soldiers and slaves live. The district is most unhealthy.

2. **'Anad,** in the fork between the Wādis Tiban and Bilih, is a frontier town of the Haushabi. The fort is a large square mud building, two storeys in height.

vi. *Amīri.* The territory of this tribe, about 750 sq. miles in extent, lies between Wādis Tiban and Bana, to the north-east of that of the Haushabi. It extends to the frontier of Yemen, and is of a very mountainous and rugged character. The Emir also claims suzerainty over the Quteibi to the south-east, but he cannot enforce it. The population is estimated at 6,000, and is mostly pastoral and agricultural. Though the tribe is said to be able to muster 1,000 fighting men (this seems excessive), they are of doubtful value as combatants. In 1915 the Turks deprived the Emir of his position for a time ; later they summoned him to Lahej, and, keeping his son there as a hostage, reinstated him and gave him fifty rifles.

The chief settlements of the Amīri district are :

1. **Dhāla,** which has a population of about 2,400, and is by far the most important town of this tribe. The residence of the Emir, called Dār el-Hā'id, consists of a small group of *dārs*, or square stone towers, and stands on the top of a rocky hill. The town itself clusters at the northern foot of the hill, and partly up its slopes, about 200 ft. below. It is compactly built and consists of about 325 houses, most of which are solidly constructed stone *dārs*, three or four storeys in height ; the streets are narrow, dirty, and irregular. On the western side of the town is an open space where a market, attended by people from the neighbouring district, is held on Thursdays ; on the eastern side is a smaller space where skins are dried and cured. The Jews, who have two separate quarters of unpretentious houses, spin thread for weaving. On the northern side of the town is the principal mosque, with a white-topped minaret ; and there are several outlying *dārs* on slight eminences.

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torate proper are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and the 'Audillah (or 'Audali). 619

i. *Yāfa'*. This warlike confederation, consisting of the Upper and Lower Yāfa', holds a very extensive inland territory, north of the Fadhli, immediately to the east of the Protectorate boundary, and having the Beida Sultanate to the north-east. The Upper Yāfa' occupy the northern, and the Lower the southern portion of the territory, the former being the more extensive. The Yāfa' country is watered by the Bana and Hasan rivers. The interior is mountainous, but there are many fertile valleys producing coffee, gums, madder, and cereals. The five powerful clans of the Upper Yāfa' are the Mausata, Dhubi, Maflahi, Bo'si, and Dā'ūdi; the chief clans of the Lower Yāfa' are the Kaladi, Yahari, Sadi, and Yazīdi. 619 621•

The population of the Confederation is estimated at 108,000: the Upper Yāfa' have a fighting strength of some 15,000 men; and the Lower Yāfa' a total pop. of 28,000, with 6,600 fighting men. The people are hardy mountaineers, always ready for active service, which they often seek in other parts of the Islamic world, e.g. at Haidarabad, Zanzibar, &c. The tribe, however, falls short of the political importance which might be expected of so large a confederation, as it lacks cohesion and uniform policy. The Confederation has, in fact, no one paramount Sultan, but several chieftains, each urging paramount claims. The Lower Yāfa', alone, may be considered as a separate sultanate, but their present chief lives much in seclusion, being dissatisfied with the attitude towards himself of certain sections of the Upper Yāfa' (over whom he is inclined to assert a claim to general suzerainty) and with the dignity and precedence assigned to him. The Upper Yāfa' have held aloof from the Turks up to the present and have refused to entertain advances which have been made both by them and by the Imam of Yemen.

The following are some of the chief towns of the Yāfa': 361

1. **Yāfa'**, said to be 'the principal capital town'.

2. **Gharrah**, one hundred miles inland from Shūghrah, and the principal residence of the Sultan of the Lower Yāfa'.

3. **Khanfar** is a well-to-do town in the Abiyān district, situated on a very ancient site a mile or so east of the Wādi Bana, on large mounds near some dilapidated forts and an old ruined castle. The Sultan possesses another castle at a short distance from the town. Khanfar has a powder factory of a primitive kind, saltpetre being plentiful in the district. Jebel Jabeil, a neighbouring hill about 200 ft. high, is the acropolis of ancient Khanfar and is surmounted by a large double-walled fort, the outer wall being built of large hewn stones. The fort commands the town.

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361 4. **Bir Lamas,** having a plentiful supply of water in a district where it is otherwise very scarce, is an important and very dirty halting-place for caravans between Shūghrah and Nisāb. The place itself is a picturesque spot, with acacia-trees overhung with creepers. Mis-hāl and many other villages are supplied with drinking-water from here, the labour of carrying it being confined to the women.

619 ii. *'Aulaqi.* This is a very large tribal confederation whose territory extends from the coast of the Gulf of Aden to the Ruba' el-
•621 Khāli ; it is bounded on the west by the Fadhli (where the frontier reaches to within 30 miles of Shūghrah), the 'Audillah, and the Beida territories, and on the east by the Wahīdi Sultanate. The country is divided for political purposes into the Sultanates of the Upper and the Lower 'Aulaqi, but these maintain close intertribal relationship and unite in the event of aggression from outside. The Upper 'Aulaqi are again subdivided, part of them being under the Sultan, and part under a Sheikh who is almost as powerful. The Lower 'Aulaqi territory, which is the more thickly populated, is composed almost entirely of the Ba Kāzim and Lakmūsh tribes with their numerous subdivisions. The political attitude, of the Upper 'Aulaqi at least, is Anglophile.

No estimate of the population of the Upper 'Aulaqi can be given, though the tribe is said to include good fighting men ; that of the Lower 'Aulaqi may be roughly estimated at 15,000 souls. The Upper 'Aulaqi are inclined to be predatory, while the Lower are a hardy, turbulent race, always engaged in petty feuds among themselves or raids on their immediate neighbours, and they have a bad reputation on account of their fondness for drink and their slackness in religious observance. In ordinary circumstances they are mainly pastoral and semi-nomadic, but they possess large tracts of arable land, and there is a considerable settled population in the main wādis. Among the special products of the 'Aulaqi territory are honey and the fruit of the jujube-tree. The district includes a strip of very flat coast, without harbours, extending for some 55 miles from near Maqātīn to Wādi Sanam, and its territory extends about 200 miles inland.

361 The chief towns of the Upper 'Aulaqi are :

1. **Nisāb,** the capital, pop. 4,000, situated in a broad and fertile plain encircled by foot-hills, at the junction of Wādis Dhura (Durra) and 'Abdān, about 100 miles crow-fly inland of Shūghrah. It is an unwalled town of white minarets and clay-dressed houses, some of the latter being of solid construction. Though there is no wall, a number of warden towers are dotted here and there about the

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a market town, engirdled by fighting towers. **Jiblat el-Qarn,** near by, is the stronghold of the El-Qarn branch, and is built on a little knoll commanding the Hasani border. 361

3. Mijdah, in Wādi Ruqub, a tributary wādi of the Ahwar, is a large village of some 600 inhabitants, mostly non-combatants, and is situated on the south-western spur of the Maran ridge. The shrine of Sīdi 'Amr ibn Sa'īd is close to the village and is a prominent landmark and a centre of pilgrimage from all parts. A spring of good water comes out near the shrine and runs through an artificially covered channel past the village.

v. '*Audillah* (or 'Audali). A tribe of predatory habits and abrupt manners, under a Sultan, which inhabits the Kaur el-'Audillah, west and north-west of the territory of the Oleh. The population is not known with any exactitude, but the tribe is reputed to muster 4,000 fighting men (Bent). The people, the women in particular, decorate their faces in a very grotesque manner with a red earth dye, called *hisn*, and some of the women dye their faces red all over. 619 621•

The chief town is Laudar (Loder), the capital, a white unwalled town situated on the Sa'īdi plain at the foot of the Kaur el-'Audillah, and said to be 'more populous than Shibām'. It is an important centre for the littoral and highland trade of a wide region. A market is held every Wednesday, and is attended by all the outlying tribes of the neighbouring confederations, who, though they may be at feud, agree on that day to declare a truce. 361

B. THE HADHRAMAUT

Area

In its broader sense, this region may be said to extend inland from the coast of the Arabian Sea to about lat. 17° N.; and from long. 47° E. to long. 53° E. Its frontiers are in no sense defined, but roughly it is bounded on the W. by the 'Aulaqi territory, N. by the great Ahqāf tract of desert, and E. by the Dhofār province of Oman. Thus considered, the region measures about 400 miles from E. to W. and has a depth N. and S. varying from about 220 miles in the west to about 50 miles in the east. 131

In its more restricted sense, the term Hadhramaut refers to the broad valley running for some hundreds of miles more or less parallel to the coast, by which the waters of the many valleys in a large portion of the southern Arabian tableland probably drain into the sea, between Seihūt and Qishn.